LABOUR MONTHLY

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LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE SPECIAL

BLIND 'PLAN'
The Editor

★

T.U.C: LESSONS FOR LABOUR
Ralph Bond

★

A SURRENDER TO RACIALISM
Dr. David Pitt

★

Crisis in Greece — Betty Ambatielos
Channel Islands Under Nazi Occupation — Le Brocq
Student Militancy in America & Europe — N. Seyd

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Notes of the Month

BLIND 'PLAN'

'Would that mine enemy would write a Plan.'
—ANON.

September 20, 1965

Historically Mr George Brown's work of fiction entitled 'The National Plan' may survive as a monument to the blindness of the rulers of British monopoly capitalism in 1965 to face the realities of Britain's position in the modern world or to adopt policies corresponding to these realities. On examination this bulky 493-page document will be found to be not so much a Plan in any serious sense as a tarted-up version of the old 'Economic Survey' which used to be produced each year, but which was wisely abandoned, since the short space of one year too rapidly exposed the false assumptions and predictions of each successive Survey. From that point of view five years is safer. By that time new Ministers may be on the job who can cheerfully disclaim all responsibility for the ancient document. Lord Butler used to promise to double the standard of living in twenty-five years. Today how many could say precisely off the cuff when Lord Butler's twenty-five years will be up? Besides, if it does not come off, blame can be happily laid on the Labour Government. The smooth efficiency of the two-party system rests on the impregnable basis that guilt for anything which goes wrong can always be ascribed to the sins of the previous government. In this way the real monopoly capitalist dictatorship remains guaranteed immune from criticism. The only thing that can be said with any degree of certainty about the world in 1970 is that it is likely to be a very different world from any anticipations of Mr. Brown, Mr. Wilson or Mr. Heath.

What Is a Plan?

When the first Russian Trade Delegation, headed by Krassin and Kamenev, came to this country in 1920 to meet Lloyd George, until they were flung out as a result of angry Tory agitation over an allegation of an offer of financial support to the old *Daily Herald*, a private week-end gathering at a country place in Sussex was arranged under the auspices of the Webbs at which the two representatives of the still largely unfamiliar Bolshevism had the opportunity to meet and talk informally to leading Labour and Fabian

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personalities. Kamenev offered a discourse on the dictatorship of the proletariat, which not surprisingly produced little effect on a gathering of this character; the subsequent characteristic summing up by Beatrice Webb in conversation was that he was 'too honest' to be much danger. But Krassin made a profound impression. Speaking with the experience of a business man, accustomed to handling business concerns over many years on a tolerably large scale, he explained how the new phenomenon of the ownership of the main means of production by society made it possible for the first time in history to plan the economy of a country as a whole, and its path of economic development, so that the, at that time, utterly prostrate, backward and derelict economy of Russia would be able in a relatively short space of time to reach on this basis of socialist planning a high economic level, eventually higher than any capitalist country.

A Bombshell

This idea of the possibility of concretely planning the entire economy and economic development of a country on the basis of socialism came as a bombshell to this top-level Labour and Fabian audience. They were accustomed to pitying the economic backwardness and poverty of Russia, or to discussing with no little acrimony the political arguments on the justification or otherwise of the Russian revolution. They were familiar with the abstract idea of socialism, as presented in the conventional literature of socialist propaganda in Britain prior to that date (*Fabian Essays, Merrie England* or Fred Henderson's *Case for Socialism*). Indeed, they had adopted the aim of socialism for the Labour Party only two years earlier, in 1918, under the influence of the 1917 revolution, through the famous Clause 4, not yet overthrown from the Labour Party Constitution, 'to secure for the producers by hand and by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry and service'. They knew socialism in terms of public ownership in place of private ownership (there was no question then of socialism meaning anything other than public ownership); in terms of social justice or 'equitable distribution' to enable the workers to obtain 'the full fruits of their industry'; or in terms of production for use to replace production for profit. But this presentation of socialism in terms of planning the entire economy and economic growth of a country appeared as a

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startling new conception which created a profound impression. At that time the much later capitalist and reformist imitation substitutes to offer 'planning' without socialism had not been born. It was assumed that planning meant socialism.

How Five Year Plans Began

Although important long-term development plans, including the famous electrification plan directly inspired by Lenin and indicated by him (to an incredulous H. G. Wells, characteristic progeny of the so-called 'British' school of socialism, who could see only darkness and desolation in Russia) as the key to the future triumph of socialist construction, it was not until 1928 that the first Five Year Plan for the whole economy, with targets to be achieved in every sphere of the economy, came into operation. This was the first Five Year Plan in history, although subsequent imitations, genuine or spurious, have spawned in practically every country of the world. Gales of laughter and derision greeted this Plan from all the experts of the capitalist world. The idea of planning the whole economy of a country with stated numerical targets for five years ahead was regarded as a typical fantasy of the crazy 'dreamers in the Kremlin', revealing their ignorance of the immutable laws of political economy. At this time, during the nineteen-twenties, the entire vision of all the capitalist experts was governed by the sublime goal of 'normalcy', that is, the return to the 'normal' pre-1914 world (a constant theme of these Notes during the early twenties was to batter away at propounding the thesis, which would appear ridiculously obvious to any present-day reader, but was then still highly polemical, that the pre-1914 world had gone for ever). The aim was 'stabilisation' and the restoration of the gold standard; and by the later twenties the success of this aim was proudly proclaimed. Then something happened which took the laugh off their faces.

Flattery By Imitation

What happened was in fact a twofold development of the world situation. On the one hand, the first Five Year Plan in history, the Socialist Five Year Plan, was completely fulfilled in all its ambitious targets within less than the five years, and the people proceeded to the elaboration, discussion and adoption of a still more ambitious second Five Year Plan, which was this time received with respect by the entire capitalist world. On the other hand, during the same years

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that this socialist Five Year Plan was achieving its triumphant constructive advance, the biggest world economic crisis in its history was ravaging the capitalist world and shattering the boasted stabilisation. Thereafter the confidence of the experts of capitalist economics was broken. Keynesism arose to challenge the old orthodoxy during the middle thirties, and subsequently became the new orthodoxy, which in its turn is becoming discredited today. The idea of consciously controlling and guiding the economy by state action and manipulation, without the necessity of socialist ownership, began to be adopted in a variety of forms in many countries. Especially during the past two decades since the second world war national economic plans of all kinds, for three, five, seven or ten years, have become almost universal in all countries. Mr. Brown in his broadcast boasted that this was the first time in history that Britain was adopting a national Five Year Plan to cover the whole economy. Maybe. But in that case, so far from this being an occasion for boasting, the claim is equivalent rather to a confession that in this respect, as in so many others in the present era, Britain is lagging at the tail of the procession. Mr. Brown's Five Year Plan, on the basis of capitalism, comes thirty-seven years after the first Five Year Plan, on the basis of socialism.

Plans and Plans

But can capitalism plan? And if so, in what sense? Here we come to the key question. To answer this question it is not enough to rely on the dogmatic assertion of the basic socialist truth that to organise the pieces on a chessboard you have to be in possession of the pieces, and that to organise a large-scale economy you have to be in possession of the large-scale means of production. This is true, and for Britain today at its advanced level of economic development, the most important truth. But in the enormous variety of the modern world there are many types of plans with many types of significance. There are the direct socialist plans of the socialist countries, covering one third of the world. Then there are the national reconstruction plans of the newly independent countries, whose development has been thwarted by colonial economy, as well as in many cases through feudal remains previously protected by imperialism, and which are now striving by their reconstruction plans to throw off the shackles of colonial economy and move forward to a more advanced economic level. In these plans the public sector plays an important part, and the aim is declared to be, even if with varying degrees of

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clearness, to advance towards socialism. Then there are the national reconstruction plans which arose in the first initial phase after the victory over fascism in a number of European countries, as in France or Italy, where the democratic anti-fascist forces held the dominant position, with the communists as the strongest political representation and influence, until American imperialism intervened to break the popular co-operation and progressive advance and restore reaction. In these reconstruction plans, as in France with the leading role of Thorez and Billoux in the government, the extension of nationalisation of giant monopolies like Citroens took on a key significance; and the famous 'Commissariat of the Plan' was inaugurated, which was subsequently taken over and distorted by the big monopolies under the ensuing reactionary governments, and is today commonly referred to as a model of the machinery of planning.

Planning and State Monopoly Capitalism

But there is a fourth type of 'plan' which has come to the fore-front during the most recent period in countries of highly developed monopoly capitalism. The trend of monopoly capitalism to increasing concentration and centralisation in ever fewer and larger giant monopolies has been continuously accompanied by the parallel trend to increasing fusion of these giant monopolies with the state machine. Lenin long ago pointed this out in his *Imperialism* on the basis of evidence from before the first world war, and from the experience of the transformation during the first world war he showed how monopoly capitalism was becoming state monopoly capitalism. This process was carried further forward during the years of so-called 'stabilisation' after the first world war, when theories of 'organised capitalism', supposedly having overcome its crises and contradictions, became current in social democratic circles. New forms of this process developed through the Rooseveltian New Deal, or, under different political conditions, through the Nazi forms of economic organisation developed for the benefit of the Thyssens and Krupps and I. G. Farben. The second world war swept this whole process still further forward; and during these past two decades this type of inter-linked system of the state and the biggest monopolies has become so characteristic in the main monopoly capitalist countries that it has become fashionable for superficial publicists to assert that modern 'organised capitalism' and 'organised socialism' are by now more and more approximating to one another,

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representing essentially the same highly organised large-scale economy, only under different labels. A whole modern artistic school of confusion has been built up on the basis of this false parallellism.

Can State Monopoly Capitalism Plan?

Certainly the old contrast between the anarchy of individualist pre-monopolist capitalism and the planning of a socialist economy no longer applies in the same simple way, although the old contrast also still survives. But the development to the increasing fusion of the big monopolies and the state does not mean that the anarchy of capitalism has disappeared. On the contrary, the anarchy has become even more monstrous—witness the role of what President Eisenhower in his last years of office described as increasing power of 'the military-industrial complex' in Washington, or the current battles of the rival state monopoly capitalist powers over gold, rival currencies and balances of payments. State monopoly capitalism can certainly plan for war. Here the equation is simple. The market is guaranteed. The State hands out the contracts to the big manufacturers for arms and military supplies without limit. The big manufacturers turn out the maximum supply, often with state aid to build new workshops and enlarge their equipment. Maximum profits are made. Payment is either extracted from the taxpayer, or covered by war credits and mounting debt, with accompanying inflation. So the mad game of ruin drives merrily forward over the piles of corpses, with all the appearance of super-efficient planning. The marvellous feats of organisation possible on this basis were illustrated by the Ministry of Munitions under Lloyd George in the first world war or the Ministry of Aircraft Production under Beaverbrook in the second.

For War—But Not For Peace

But when war gives place to peace (or relative peace) this marvellous mechanism comes immediately to an end, and a new set of values comes into operation. Lord Leverhulme, the mighty founder of the Unilever monopoly, at the end of the first world war estimated, on the basis of this enlightening experience of large-scale state organisation, that it would be as easy to turn out within a short time the millions of houses required as it had been to turn out the millions of rifles, guns, tanks and planes. Thereby he only revealed his ignorance of his own system. He knew the technical possibilities, but not the social-political conditions. Half a century

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later the millions of houses are still required, and the industrial towns of Britain are littered with ageing, decrepit homes and dismal streets, to become the subject of successive shocked reports and surveys. The all-embracing guaranteed market of war is no longer present—save in so far as the arms lobby tries always to push up its share, and desperate Ministers see sometimes in increased arms expenditure the means to give a short-term fillip to a sagging economy. The lavish world of military planning has given place to the Galbraithian world of private opulence and public parsimony—the economic situation is too serious; we cannot afford so much, however desirable; we must all draw in our belts; we must compete or go under. State monopoly capitalism can plan for death, but not for life, that is, for use.

Iron Law of the Market

But why, asks the impenitent idealist, cannot the same marvellous state planning organisation of the monopolies in wartime, which could in so short a time jack up production to turn out millions of guns or tanks or planes, equally in peacetime within the shortest space of time turn out the millions of houses or the schools or the hospitals and indeed all that is required to give the people abundance —to treat the provision of housing, as Bevin promised at the end of the last war, 'like a military operation'? The answer is provided in the text of Mr. Brown's own Plan:

> It isn't a Plan to tell us all what to do and when and how. That wouldn't be acceptable to a nation like ours. (Foreword to the shortened version *Working for Prosperity*.)
>
> Most manufacturing industry and commerce is, and will continue to be, largely governed by the market economy. (*The National Plan*, p. 2.)

Precisely. In the popular version the explanation why the Plan does not do what every simple person might imagine a Plan to be for, that is, to set out 'what to do and when and how', just as a gardener who plans his garden decides 'what to grow and when and how', but instead only offers forecasts and estimates of possibilities, is given in terms of the familiar alias for capitalism, the supposed contrast of democratic freedom with compulsion ('wouldn't be acceptable to a nation like ours').

Profit Decides

In point of fact, nothing could be more undemocratic than the method of drafting of this plan in secret by a handful of top experts

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and officials with no possibility of participation by the general public until the completed result is sprung upon them, in contrast to the method of socialist planning, as in the preparation of the current Soviet Seven Year Plan, when proposals are invited and publicly discussed for months beforehand all over the country with the participation of tens of millions. However, this is only the familiar alias of capitalism for the popular version. In the full text of the official report at the safe price of thirty shillings, the more explicit formula is given that the underlying assumption of the Plan is that the majority of the economy will continue to be 'the market economy', i.e. capitalism. The Plan can only forecast and suggest and recommend; the power of decision rests with the owners of capital. State monopoly capitalism, however close the fusion of the state and the monopolies, remains capitalism, governed still by the fundamental law of capitalism, that the decision what can be produced and when and how, depends, not on social benefit or need, no matter how eloquent the plea, but on the prospect of profit.

Who Controls Whom?

The illusion that state monopoly capitalism (currently disguised under the euphemism 'the mixed economy') can represent a rational, planned, benevolent, progressive social order is based on a misconception of the real character of state monopoly capitalism. The ever closer fusion of the state and the biggest monopolies does not mean that a rational classless benevolent state above the battle takes charge of the monopolies and tames them and brings them under control. It would be nearer the truth to say that the biggest monopolies take over more and more directly the state. 'What is good for General Motors is good for the United States'—a profound principle of modern statecraft not yet adequately recognised in current textbooks of political philosophy offered for the education of the young in the universities. The highest state officials, as well as former Cabinet Ministers, pass directly on to the Boards of the big banks and top monopolies, while representatives from these Boards are loaned to occupy offices of state or run the nationalised industries. This continuous two-way traffic means that the big monopolies become more and more involved, not only in supporting and maintaining the state as their general executive instrument, in the same way as the capitalists have always done in the previous stages of capitalism, while leaving the running of government to an aristocratic élite or to mandarins, but in direct participation in

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running its affairs and using state powers for the advancement of their particular interests. The understanding of this is the key to the understanding of the significance of planning in state monopoly capitalism, including this 'National Plan'.

Planning Against the People

State power is the power of compulsion. State monopoly capitalism in peacetime can, that is, use compulsory planning powers, for restriction, for negative purposes, to limit the acreage allowed to be planted (like the schizophrenic Department of Agriculture in the United States, with one half of its gigantic apparatus paying farmers not to grow wheat or rear hogs, and the other half paying subsidies to other farmers for what they do produce). It can forbid building without licence, and give licence for the new £11½ million Stock Exchange building. But it cannot compel a capitalist to invest or produce anything unless there is a profit in it. It can only recommend, offer inducements, tax remissions, subsidies. So on the positive side the Plan cannot lay down what is to be done, it can only offer estimates and forecasts kindly supplied in the first place by the big industrialists themselves. The compulsory powers of the state are advantageous for the big monopolies, not for use against themselves, but for use against their enemies or rivals or objects of exploitation, against foreign capitalist rivals, or against medium or lesser capitalists, or especially against the workers. The policy of wage restraint is the real heart of the Plan.

Wage Restraint and Compulsion

All the generalised proposals and estimates of future productive and trading increases are hypothetical castles in the air, with admittedly little prospect of realisation in the next year at the rate assumed. But the proposals to cut down coal output and the labour force in the coal industry, for the benefit of the oil monopolies, and to reduce the labour force in other basic industries where the workers are strongly organised, are real and definite. And the demand to hold down wage increases (with an accompanying make-believe show of dealing with prices, which has deceived no one, and with no pretence even of dealing at the same time with profits and dividends) is the real and immediate cutting edge of the Plan. It is precisely in this sphere that even before the publication of the Plan the announcement has been made of the intention to establish

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compulsory powers. This is the characteristic 'planning' of state monopoly capitalism.

Blindness on Britain

So far we have dealt with the Plan in its general character as a typical plan of state monopoly capitalism—not a positive planning of production (the socialist meaning of planning), but a weapon for the offensive against the working class. But this particular 'National Plan' is offered as a solution for the special situation of British capitalism, which has fallen below the level of development even of other major capitalist countries. Britain, from being the vanguard of capitalism, has become today the classic model of capitalism in decline and the centre point of all the contradictions of the general crisis of capitalism. 'The most serious economic problem facing us', says the Foreword to the Plan, 'is the balance of payments'. But the balance of payments chronic deficits during the past two decades, and indeed beginning to appear already during the thirties, are only the symptom of the mortal sickness of British imperialism. The deficits demonstrate the fact that the attempt to maintain Britain's position as a world imperialist power in a changing world is overstraining Britain's home economy. Already in 1949, sixteen years ago, the present writer published the book *Britain's Crisis of Empire* to establish this thesis, and predicted, at a time when the Attlee-Cripps Government was boasting of its successful measures to solve the deficit, that the deficit would recur, both under Labour and Conservative Governments, until the necessary basic change from imperialist policies was carried out.

The Old Rut

This general picture of overstrain, though without clear analysis of the factors causing it, has become widely current in recent years. Thorneycroft's famous 'slithering into ruin' speech was made in 1958:

> For twelve years we have been attempting to do more than our resources could manage, and in the process we have been weakening ourselves. . . . Over twelve years we have slithered from one crisis to another. . . . It is the road to ruin.
>
> (Peter Thorneycroft, speech in parliament, January 23, 1958, after his resignation as Chancellor of the Exchequer).

Similarly *The Times* this year noted:

> Britain has been trying to run her economy far beyond its capacity for most of the post-war period. . . . Britain has gone through this phase too

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many times before, with Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Amory, Mr. Thorneycroft and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. On each occasion the effort was wasted.

(*The Times* editorial, August 27, 1965)

But the new Plan remains in the old rut. 'Only', the Foreword concludes, by 'the growth of the economy' can Britain 'break out of the vicious circle of balance of payments difficulties and restrictions of output that keep plaguing us'. Once again the Wilson-Brown Government, like the Attlee-Cripps Government before it, assumes the imperialist burdens as inevitable god-given necessities, and seeks to flog the old horse to renewed efforts to meet them. This false diagnosis vitiates the whole Plan.

Permanent Imperialist Assumptions

The tables given in the body of the Report belie the diagnosis. The task is stated to be to convert a deficit of £721 million in 1964 into a surplus of £250 million (to cover debt repayments) by 1970. But the same table indicates that net Government overseas expenditure of £555 million in 1964, and net export of private long term capital totalling £225 million, or an aggregate of £780 millions for the two items comprised more than the total deficit, so that without these expenditures there would have been no deficit. It is true that it is claimed that £90 million of overseas government expenditure represents diplomatic and administrative expenditure, contributions to international organisations, loan repayments and 'certain defence receipts', a proportion of which would in any case be necessary; and £191 million is ascribed to 'aid to developing countries', though much of this is in practice military 'aid' or subsidies to maintain reactionary regimes, in both cases reflecting imperialist strategy and not benefit to the peoples concerned. By these deductions it is claimed that Government overseas military expenditure amounted to a mere £274 million. This figure, it may be noted, shows a remarkable discrepancy with the House of Commons Estimates Committee's figure of £350 million for the same item. The honest citizen is in no position to judge between these figures save to draw the conclusion (1) that the true figure of overseas military expenditure is an official secret; (2) that the varying figures offered to the public at one time or another will fluctuate wildly according to what it is desired to prove. But it is obvious that even on the basis of the Report's own estimates here are two of the largest items to attack in order to overcome the deficit. Yet it is precisely here that the proposals run away from the problem and try to take refuge in

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vague hopes of possible future minor economies or countervailing factors without venturing to challenge the imperialist commitments.

Sleight-of-Hand 'Reductions'

On overseas military expenditure the only specific proposition put forward is that the agreement with Germany 'should result' in part of the foreign exchange costs of British troops in Germany being 'offset' by German purchases in Britain. But in respect of all the colonialist military expenditure, the bases, Aden, Singapore and all the rest, it is 'intended' to 'aim' at some unspecified future reduction in expenditure 'as soon as circumstances permit'. On total military expenditure the objective is reasserted to try to keep the figure from rising above £2,000 million at 1964 prices, and that therefore, since the figure would otherwise be £2,400 million by 1970, this can be regarded as equivalent to a 'saving' of £400 million. In respect of the export of capital it is stated that this will 'remain substantial', but the optimists calculate that there will be such a rush of foreign monopolists to invest in Britain in order to take advantage of the favourable opportunities for exploiting British labour (wage restraint) that the net outflow of £225 million in 1964 will turn into a 'net private inflow' of £75 million by 1970.

Colonialism to the Rescue

Even more optimism is shown in the calculations on the prospective increased returns from colonialism and Britain's position as a world imperialist financial power. The overseas tribute income on this basis ('net surplus on private invisible transactions') is expected to rise from £404 million in 1954-59 and £561 million in 1964 to the very considerable figure of £680 million in 1970 at 1964 prices. Similarly in respect of overseas visible trade it is calculated that an 'assumed improvement in our terms of trade compared with 1964' to the tune of £180 millions, (that is, increased colonialist exploitation by the raising of prices of manufactured goods and fall in prices of commodities from primary producing countries) will reduce a prospective deficit of £225 million in 1970 to only £45 million. Thus the whole conjurer's trick for converting the deficit of 1964 into a grand surplus for repaying moneylenders in 1970 is based on assuming the continuance of the imperialist burdens on the backs of the British people, but painting the most optimistic picture of the increased returns to be obtained from the spoils of colonialism, as well as from the increased exploitation of

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British workers by foreign as well as British monopolists. This Plan is indeed a colonialist's prospectus—and as cheapjack and phony as this type of prospectus commonly is. Incidentally, it is an ironic commentary on the contradictions of this racialist and colonialist outlook that the Plan envisages a minimum labour shortage of 200,000, with no indication of where these are to come from, at the same time as the same Government proclaims its racialist programme for limiting Commonwealth immigration to 8,500 a year.

From Brighton to Blackpool

All these questions will be in the forefront at the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool. The character and the obvious limitations of this Plan are inextricably bound up with all the issues of the international situation, the policy on Vietnam and Southern Asia, the 'East of Suez' strategy, the subordination to the United States or the alignment with the rulers of West Germany in their adventurist path towards their aim of getting their fingers on nuclear armaments. The price of these policies is paid for with the restrictions on social advance at home and the increasingly open and aggressive offensive against wages and the trade unions. At the Brighton Trades Union Congress at the beginning of September the gathering battle found expression, with opposition votes of over three millions on the 'incomes policy' and nearly three millions on Vietnam, but with the adoption of decisions which can carry grave dangers for the future of trade unionism. These issues go forward to the Blackpool Labour Party Conference, and are reinforced by the publication of this Plan and the prospective Government policy which it indicates. The lesson of MacDonald and 1931, and of the costly price of blind loyalty to a Government which in the name of Labour surrenders to Tory policies, flash their warning light to the delegates at Blackpool. The issues are not less serious today.

R.P.D.

ANNOUNCEMENT

IMPORTANT article on *'African' Socialism* by Kofi Batsa, Editor of *The Spark*, a socialist weekly published in Ghana, will be published next month in the November *Labour Monthly*. Make sure of your copy *now*!

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T.U.C: LESSONS FOR LABOUR

Ralph Bond*

THE widespread concern at the Government's economic policies and their implications for the trade union movement found full vocal expression at the Brighton Trades Union Congress. The Congress delegates were not in a mood automatically to rubber stamp Government decisions, or to refrain from criticism on the plea of 'Don't rock the boat'.

A good many boats got heavily rocked at Brighton, and the traditional right-wing leaders, although they secured their majorities, can obtain little satisfaction from the large opposition votes recorded on such issues as the incomes policy, nationalisation of the aircraft industry and Vietnam, to say nothing of their defeat on a motion calling for a campaign against foreign-owned companies who deny trade union rights to their employees, which, for some inexplicable reason, the General Council opposed.

Many of the most important discussions at the T.U.C. are not taken in open Congress but in union delegation meetings beforehand. Only a small percentage of delegates ever get to the rostrum, but the 'silent nine-tenths' can very definitely influence Congress policy by determining how their own union's vote is cast. Some curious results emerge from this, as we shall later see.

The debate on incomes policy was the major event of the week. A supplementary report from the General Council was introduced by George Woodcock in a lengthy, often repetitive and sometimes obscure speech. He disclosed the General Council's discussions with George Brown who had reported the Government's intention to introduce legislation making compulsory the notification of all future wage claims and price changes to the Department of Economic Affairs. This, however, would only be the first stage. The Department would then have the right to decide whether a wage claim or a price increase should be referred to the Prices and Incomes Board, and unions would have to wait for three months after notification before they were told whether their claims were 'in the national interest'. In the meantime no action could be taken.

The General Council put forward an alternative proposal which would have the effect of requiring trade unions to submit their claims first to the T.U.C. who would have the right to approve or

*Mr. Bond is an Executive Member of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians and moved the resolution on Vietnam at the T.U.C.

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not approve in the light of the overall incomes policy. This highly revolutionary idea was properly regarded with deep suspicion and apprehension, but Woodcock defended it on the grounds that this so-called 'voluntary' system was preferable to legislation. He admitted that the Government intended to introduce legislation anyway but held out the hope that its implementation would be postponed to see if the T.U.C. scheme had the desired results. Although the General Council's report received a majority on a card vote, the massive opposition of over three million votes was indicative of the fears that trade unions were in fact being asked to give up their free negotiating rights and hand over their authority to the General Council.

Unions who were opposed to the incomes policy already adopted at the special conference of executives last April were joined by others who were not prepared to accept either legislation or the voluntary scheme. Between them they mounted a weighty volume of criticism, led by Danny McGarvey who moved a composite resolution rejecting the Government's present prices and incomes policy, and affirming support for a planned economy based on public ownership of the basic industries and the land.

Harry Nicholas of the Transport and General Workers' Union struck home when he declared that if George Brown's plan had been put forward by Selwyn Lloyd the trade unions would never have tolerated it. George Doughty argued that the Government was seeking control over only one element of the economy, wages, and had no real grip over prices and profits. Clive Jenkins challenged the whole basis of the Government's economic analysis and affirmed that the reason for our economic difficulties is low productivity allied to low wages and high costs. If the balance of payments was so disastrous, he asked, why spend £800 million in dollars for American aircraft? Other speakers slammed the Government for pursuing essential Tory solutions, and few delegates had any sympathy for John Boyd's astonishing claim that the Government had 'shaken the foundations of capitalism' with the Finance Bill.

The wide-ranging arguments against the General Council were undoubtedly founded in the conviction (*a*) that an incomes policy in an unplanned society is bound to place the burden of sacrifice on the workers (and particularly on the lower paid workers); (*b*) that prices and profits must be dealt with before the workers can be asked to give up or slow down their fight for improved living standards; and (*c*) that the short answer to the balance of payments

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crisis is drastic cuts in the armaments programme. This latter point was underlined by the unanimity with which Congress supported the Boilermakers' resolution declaring that the level of military expenditure prevented social advance and economic development.

Despite the opposition, and despite the large vote against, Woodcock got his way and Congress is now committed to reporting future wage claims to the General Council before entering into negotiations. Woodcock airily informed Congress that most of these would go through like water through a sieve. Maybe, or maybe not, but what happens to claims that Woodcock thinks unreasonable in the context of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent guiding light? The unions would still be permitted to pursue them but their chances would be slim indeed when it became known that the General Council disapproved. And what happens if the Government implements its intended legislation on the grounds that the T.U.C. is not being tough enough? These are fundamental questions which were not dealt with at Brighton, but the masses of the rank and file trade unionists who do not go to Congress will want to know the answers pretty soon, and will want an accounting from their leaders as to how and why their votes were cast.

Many of the delegations to Congress were deeply disturbed at being asked to endorse the General Council's new policy at such short notice. As the representative of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers pointed out, ninety trade unions were represented by fewer than six delegates each, and sixty of these by only one delegate. There could be no chance for them to consult their executives, let alone their members, yet they were expected to give blanket approval for something that could well be against their unions' policies and constitutions. He proposed, I thought sensibly, that the decision should be deferred to a special recall Conference of Executives. But Woodcock, for a variety of reasons, including possibly pressure from George Brown and Ray Gunter, and possibly out of fear that opposition would grow as the full implications of the new policy were realised, opposed and demanded a decision there and then.

It is important to note that the General Council victory would have been a defeat if the vote of the million-strong Amalgamated Engineering Union had gone the other way. This situation was almost exactly paralleled in the voting on the Vietnam resolution.

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Again the A.E.U., by, I believe a very narrow majority, voted for an amendment which was carried by a majority of less than two million.

The Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians had tabled a simple, direct resolution calling for a conference of all countries concerned to achieve a settlement along the lines indicated by the Geneva Conference, and demanding the withdrawal of all foreign forces in Vietnam to facilitate this.

The Electrical Trades Union tabled an amendment to delete the call for the withdrawal of foreign forces, an amendment the A.C.T.T. would not accept for obvious reasons. As Trevor Evans pointed out recently in the *Daily Express* the original resolution would have been tabled by the E.T.U. itself a few years ago. The arguments put forward by the E.T.U. spokesman were of the familiar anti-Communist variety, as if Vietnam was invading the United States and not vice-versa. If I can introduce a personal note, as the mover of my union's resolution, I am firmly convinced that there can be no talk or possibility of peace in Vietnam until the American Government is compelled to accept the basic essentials of the 1954 Geneva Conference which expressly declared that there shall be no foreign troops and bases in Vietnam, that there shall be elections so that the Vietnamese people can choose their own form of government, and that the country must be reunified on the basis of national sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and no military alliances.

The very large number of trade unions who support these views, including the railwaymen, transport workers, distributive workers, foundrymen, boilermakers, fire brigades and many others, is a tremendous encouragement to all those who demand an end to the American aggression in Vietnam, and is a sure guarantee that it will not be long before the majority of trade unionists will demand action to achieve this end.

I have no space to deal with the many other important matters that Congress discussed, and Congress is often at its best when debating social questions like housing, the health service, industrial injuries, education and other issues of vital importance to the well-being of all workers.

I was impressed too with the ever growing importance of the technical and other so-called 'non-manual' unions in Congress. In the old days it was rare to hear from them—debates were monopolised by the big industrial unions. This is no longer the case, and a

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significant development has been the publication of the pamphlet 'A Declaration of Dissent' on the incomes policy issued jointly by Asset, Data, S.T.C.S., A.Sc.W., and A.C.T.T. Unions such as these are destined to play a very considerable rôle in Congress, despite the old-fashioned and out-of-date composition of the General Council which has scarcely begun to recognise the new trends in trade union development.

This year's Congress was in a sense a transitional Congress, torn with conflicts of loyalty. On the one hand the desire not to make things more difficult for the Labour Government which the unions had done so much to return to office; on the other hand a deep disturbance at Government policies and a knowledge that a continuation of these can lead to future disaster, and disillusionment among the millions of ordinary trade unionists. The conflict has not been and could not be resolved by Congress, but the expression of it was there for all to see. I think many delegates have realised that the future does not lie with temporising and 'shoddy compromises', but with bold militant policies which will revitalise the whole movement and create confidence and optimism for the future.

SURRENDER TO RACIALISM

Dr. David Pitt
Chairman, Campaign against Racial Discrimination

THE Government White Paper on Immigration from the Commonwealth has dealt a serious blow to the concept of the Labour Party as a Socialist Party. The policy is a straightforward acceptance of racial prejudice and discrimination as a basis for immigration policy.

Reference is made of the need to control the entry of immigrants to our small and overcrowded country. This is intended to convey the impression that the control is dictated by the need to restrict the numbers coming into the country and that the White Paper contains proposals for doing this. But nothing is further from the truth. The White Paper does not propose restriction on immigration into Britain. It merely proposes a ceiling on immigration from the Commonwealth. There is no overall ceiling on immigration into Britain. Immigration from Ireland will continue unchecked and

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although immigration from alien sources will continue to be controlled by the issue of labour vouchers, there is no overall ceiling on the number of vouchers that can be issued to aliens.

If I may spell this out in greater detail: if an employer wishes to employ a foreign worker, he must fill up a form indicating the job, the wages and conditions, and sign a certificate stating that no British worker could be found for this job. But there is no limit to the number of such forms which can be issued. The only limitation will be in the number of such jobs that are available. In the case of Commonwealth citizens, the White Paper proposes that they should continue to be admitted by the issue of labour vouchers, but that only 8,500 such vouchers should be issued in any one year, and of those, 1,000 should be for Maltese.

There is thus a definite discrimination against Commonwealth citizens, who are now being placed in a disadvantageous position not only in relation to immigrants from Ireland, but also immigrants from non-Commonwealth sources, e.g., Spain, Italy or South Africa. Moreover, if the Government's proposals are accepted and even if there is no increase in the number of aliens, they will exceed annually the number of immigrants from the Commonwealth. But since all the projections indicate that the country will need more immigrant labour, it is obvious that if the number from Commonwealth sources are decreased, and assuming the number from Ireland remain the same, the number from alien sources will be increased. Thus it will become easier for someone from South Africa, Italy or Spain to come to this country to work, than someone from British Guiana, Jamaica or Nigeria.

It will be argued that the whole Commonwealth is involved in this discrimination, and that therefore it is not racial discrimination. An examination of the figures published in the White Paper will show that that is not so. Only 6·3 per cent of those who settled here in 1964 from the White Commonwealth arrived with labour vouchers. In the first half of this year it is only 2 per cent, although there has been a marked increase in the net balance of those admitted from and those who embarked to the White Commonwealth countries. On the other hand 22·3 per cent of those from the rest of the Commonwealth and the dependent territories were voucher holders in 1964 and 20·1 per cent in the first half of 1965. In 1963, the figure was 50 per cent.

It will thus be seen that it is the workers from the coloured Commonwealth countries who will be most affected by restriction on the number of voucher holders to be admitted in any one year.

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Moreover, the Government has underlined the selfish nature of the proposals, by abolishing category C, which is the category for semi-skilled and unskilled workers without any specific job, and giving priority to category B which it defines as:

> Doctors, dentists and trained nurses; teachers who are eligible for the status of qualified teacher in this country; graduates in science or technology who have had at least two years experience in suitable employment since graduation; and non-graduates with certain professional qualifications who have had at least two years experience in suitable employment since qualifying.

This is really carrying cynicism to a fine art. Here is a Government, reputedly socialist, pledged to giving meaning to the Commonwealth, pledged to helping the under-developed countries and to give form and substance to that pledge it has established a Ministry of Overseas Development and has established an Overseas Service, so that trained personnel from this country can serve in overseas territories without losing their status in the Home Civil Service. Yet that Government is prepared to legislate to give priority for the few qualified people in the poorer Commonwealth countries to come to work in this country, while preventing the ordinary workers, who could benefit from a spell in this industrialised country, from being able to do so. How can a Government which is willing to treat the poorer nations in that way ever claim to be Socialist?

What one has a right to expect from a Socialist Government is the provision under which unskilled and semi-skilled workers would be allowed to come from the under-developed countries and, that while they are in this country they are given training, so that they can go back to their countries as skilled men. In Paragraph 18 the White Paper indicates that the Government is considering arrangements under which Commonwealth citizens can come to this country for limited periods for industrial training. This will be good, but what is required is that the whole mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers from the Commonwealth, who come to this country, should be available for such training. This involves the elimination of discrimination in employment and apprenticeship schemes and industrial training, and making available full opportunities for the continuation of their education.

Before the introduction of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, there were many examples of Commonwealth youths who came to this country with no certificate which would entitle them to pursue higher education courses, but who worked and studied and ended up with professions. This became more difficult as a result of that

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Act. The Labour Government now proposes to make it impossible. Students will now be admitted only for a limited period and their permits will be for one year at a time. This will make the position of any student very precarious and examinations will become greater nightmares than they now are.

Moreover, the student who fails his examination and who runs out of funds will be in danger of being forced to leave the country, instead of being able to work his way through the University, as many do today. Further, the draconian powers which will be given the Immigration Officers and Home Secretary can have the effect of limiting the student intake only to those who are approved by their Home Governments, and who possessed beforehand not only the requisite certificates but the requisite funds. And these students can be deported if they infringe the conditions under which they are admitted.

The break-up of families implicit in the imposition of the arbitrary age of 16 below which the immigrant's child has a right of admission and the insistence that children between 16 and 18 can only be admitted if hardship is shown, will also restrict the inflow of students, because if an immigrant decides to leave his son and daughter to complete their education at home and they fail to get the requisite qualifications for admission to higher education, they will have difficulty in securing admission. This is happening already.

Great attention should be paid to the very wide powers which are proposed for the Home Secretary and the Immigration Officers. 'The Government proposes to seek a general power to impose conditions on the admission of any Commonwealth citizen who is subject to control.' This will place almost unlimited power in the hands of the Home Secretary and his Immigration Officers. This can be used to impose conditions not only on visitors, students, dependants or even voucher holders. It can also be used to impose conditions on *returning residents*, who happen to be Commonwealth citizens. This, coupled with the power to repatriate Commonwealth citizens if the Home Secretary considers it in the public interest, deprives all Commonwealth citizens of security in this society. It will therefore make integration very much more difficult.

The White Paper must make all Socialists ashamed of the present Government. It represents in its attitudes all the things that should be anathema to any Socialist. It represents a surrender to racialism, a cancer which if not completely removed will destroy the fabric of our Society. It must be opposed with every fibre of our being.

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CRISIS IN GREECE: A Struggle for Democracy

Betty Ambatielos

GREECE is in the throes of the most acute crisis of the past fifteen years. This crisis was deliberately provoked and is being artificially prolonged by the Palace, supported by the military junta and the neo-fascist Right. It is facilitated by renegades from the Centre Union and is inspired and financed by U.S. imperialism.

The bringing down of the legal government and attempts to impose a docile government obedient to U.S. commands, is the Johnson Doctrine in operation in Greece: 'This Doctrine', said Mr. I. Iliou, leader of the Union of the Democratic Left (E.D.A.), 'is operated in Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic through fire, mercenaries and marines; in Greece, through conspiracy, provocation, U.S. dollars and corruption'. While the crisis could be solved immediately by the formation of a caretaker government charged with the holding of free elections within 45 days of the dissolution of Parliament (according to the Constitution) the Palace and its supporters are as determined to avoid elections as the devil Holy Water! There is nothing they fear more than the freely expressed will of the people.

As a result of the refusal to proceed to elections following the dismissal by the King of the legal Premier, Papandreou, the country has been virtually governed by the Palace (and the army) through its own appointed premiers who, even when overwhelmingly defeated in Parliament, continue to function as if they were normal governments. In particular, they have effected changes in the army (200 army officers removed in one night!) and security police—against the interests of the democratic people and in preparation for more serious violations of the people's will.

Behind the King's action lies the determination of all the powers of reaction, backed by the imperialists, to wipe out the democratic gains resulting from the people's defeat of Karamanlis in 1963, and restore the policies of the National Radical Union (E.R.E.) through whatever government possible. The defeat of Karamanlis was a major breakthrough. For almost thirty years there had been dictatorship or reactionary governments (with which the Throne was always associated). Even so-called liberal governments in the post-war period had continued policies of national betrayal and the suppression of liberty at home.

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The electoral victory of the democratic forces in February 1964 presented for the first time the opportunity for a decisive turn towards the democratic road (and for the monarch to restrict himself exclusively to 'reigning not governing'). The Centre Union (Papandreou) polled 53 per cent of the poll and had an absolute majority in Parliament. E.D.A's 22 deputies supported its declared policy for the restoration of democracy. There was nothing to stop the programme being carried out immediately and to the last letter. It is now past history that Papandreou failed to lift the Special Emergency Measures dating from the Civil War (1946-49), did not legalise the Greek Communist Party (K.E.E.), release the remaining political prisoners or root out the fascist elements from their key positions in the army, police, etc., and that he too banned meetings and, among other things, discussed with the King the latter's proposal for the banning of the Democratic Lambrakis Youth. Why then did the U.S., the Palace and the Right conspire against him? It was not so much Papandreou they feared as the *unity* of the democratic forces, forged in the struggle against Karamanlis. The conspiracy aimed at reversing the drive forward to democracy, peace and progress being pressed for by the united democratic forces.

It was against these forces that the unconstitutional action of the Palace was directed. The outlawed K.K.E. and the legal E.D.A. had repeatedly warned against a coup; it was carried out and *was a coup* despite the effort made to pass it off as a commonplace government change. On July 15 the King refused Papandreou's request that he replace Garoufalias as Minister of Defence. (He was the Palace nominee for the post whom Papandreou had originally accepted but now, under popular pressure, wanted to remove.) Papandreou was dismissed and another Centre Union figure, Novas, installed as Premier. The dismissal of the legal Premier, who beyond doubt represented the majority, was unconstitutional and was flying in the face of the sovereign people. The appointment of Novas by the King was a further violation of the constitution. Thus the crisis arose and the only way out constitutionally and democratically was for the mandate to be returned immediately to Papandreou or for recourse to elections for the people to decide.

Simultaneously with these astounding developments came the views and attitudes of the Palace clique (Frederika, the King's advisers Hoidas and Arnaoutis, etc.) in the King's letters to Papandreou published on the initiative of the Palace! These revealed the demand that the King decides on the person of the Prime

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Minister, ministers, army leaders etc., and that the monarch's views (his concern for a return to the state of 'stability and sense of security' which, it was alleged, had disappeared after the defeat of Karamanlis) take precedence over the expressed will of the people. In other words, that Absolute Monarchy replace the Parliamentary Democracy in which the monarch derives what powers he has from the people and does not interfere in the affairs of government. The content and language (*e.g.*, 'This is my last warning') exposed the Palace once again as identifying itself, not with the people as a whole, but with a section of it only, and that the most reactionary.

With amazing clarity the people saw that it was not simply a question of Papandreou (who had come in for sharp criticism from the Left and other democrats) but popular sovereignty that was at stake. The removal of Papandreou was a direct attack on the legal representative of the will of the people (for the restoration of democracy) as expressed in the elections of February 1964. The struggle, therefore, for the restoration of the legal Premier or immediate free elections was a struggle to save the new forward position won for democracy in 1963-4.

The first Palace government (Novas) was defeated in Parliament after only fifteen days; the 'ace' Palace card was now brought out in the shape of one-time socialist Tsirimokos. But that was trumped by the people in only five days! Desertions from the Centre Union to these Palace-appointed Premiers reduced its Parliamentary strength to 134, but with E.D.A's 22 deputies, the Parliamentary majority still remained with the forces supporting the restoration of democracy. This great fight involved hundreds of thousands of democrats, workers, youths and students demonstrating night after night for two months. In Athens, in addition to the usual police attacks, thousands of tear-gas cylinders were thrown against the people injuring many and killing 23-year-old Sotiris Petroulas. Stoppages of work are frequent, general strikes in particular towns and, on July 27, a 24-hour general strike in all the industrial centres. Slogans for the return to Constitutional and Democratic Order and the solution of the crisis through free elections are the demands.

But 'elections' is a word which haunts U.S. backed reaction like a nightmare. *They are determined at all costs to avoid them.* Election now, they say, would be 'dangerous'—presumably because, since the whole of Greece is echoing to the demand for a return to constitutional and democratic order, it is clear the majority would vote for a programme of democracy! In any case, they would not

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be elections, they add, they would be a plebiscite on the question of the monarchy. In fact, this issue, which no party has raised, was raised by the King himself by his deviation from the Constitution. If the King desires to win respect, the speediest way of doing this, says the Left, is to respect the Constitution and proceed to elections.

However, at the time of writing, intense activity continues behind the scenes to effect a 're-deployment' of the Centre Union Parliamentary forces. In other words, through 'inducements', persuading more Centre deputies to desert to the renegade Novas-Tsirimokas group to produce a viable Centre Union government, and through it make greater progress towards restoring the policies of the Karamanlis era. The crisis and the continued efforts to ignore the people's will are pregnant with dangers. The only way to avert them and secure democratic normality, says E.D.A., is for the people to express its will in free elections. A caretaker government, enjoying the confidence of the political parties, must be formed to carry out the elections; steps must be taken to guarantee free elections for all; the elections should be held within the constitutional time limits.

The dangers are acute. The military junta and its dream of dictatorship are threatening in the background. The Americans are pressing. They were behind the whole conspiracy, the Greek press reveals. Tangible results are expected in return for the many millions of U.S. dollars expended on the operation against the legal government—Greek troops for their war in Vietnam, agreement to partition of Cyprus to placate Turkey and secure Cyprus as the Nato centre for aggressive aims against the peoples of the Middle East and the defence of the oil interests of the imperialists; more concessions allowing even more intense exploitation in the interests of the monopolies.

But the Greek people, whose modern Marathon—the March for Peace last May—heartened the peace forces everywhere, are not interested in war, but in peace, in independence, in self-determination for Cyprus. They want friendship with all peoples, especially the non-aligned peoples of Africa and the Middle East, their Balkan neighbours and the socialist countries. They are interested in progress, in going forward not back. The bitter struggles they are waging unitedly now, supported by international solidarity, will ultimately impose their will, secure conditions for free elections and enable them to plant their feet again even more firmly on the road to national independence, progress and democracy.

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THE ARREST O

Forty years ago this month Britain moved closer to that confrontation of classes that culminated in the General Strike of 1926. Everywhere the working class was caught unprepared; everywhere the ruling class had organised. As a foretaste of their intentions, the Communist Party offices were raided on October 14, 1925, and 6 leading Communists arrested: Harry Pollitt, Albert Inkpin, William Rust, Tom Wintringham, Johnnie Campbell and Ernie Cant. While they were being charged at Bow Street, another two—Willie Gallacher and Tom Bell—were rounded up. A week later another four—Robin Page Arnot, Arthur McManus, Jack Murphy, and Wal Hannington—were arrested, bringing the tally to the Biblical total of twelve. They were charged with conspiracy to utter seditious libel, a charge which included such offences as publishing 'the works of Mr. Lenin'. The trial began on November 4. The twelve accused found wide support. George Bernard Shaw, for example, stood bail for Willie Gallacher. The trial ended on November 25, all twelve being found guilty. Seven, including Pollitt and Gallacher, were sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment;

(*Back Row*) J. T. Murphy, W. Gallacher, W. Hannington; (*Middle Row*) H. Pollitt, E. Cant, T. Wintringham, A. Inkpin; (*Front Row*) J. R. Campbell, A. McManus, W. Rust, R. P. Arnot, T. Bell.

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THE TWELVE

the remaining five to six months each. Before passing sentence on these last five, Justice Rigby-Swift asked each in turn whether in future he would abjure all Communist agitation. Each replied in turn *No! I will not!* Protests against the sentences were made by the General Council of the T.U.C. and the Labour Party Executive and by a delegate conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain demanded the immediate release of the imprisoned Communists.

At the same time R. Palme Dutt, then in Brussels, was arrested there on November 5, and a Scotland Yard representative travelled to Brussels to secure his handing over for inclusion in the London trial. However, the political fight in Belgium, backed up by the accompanying campaign in Britain, hindered the execution of this plan. The head of the Belgian bar, who was a Liberal, took up the case, and the deportation order was held up. A charge was made of conspiracy to remove King Albert from his throne, and on this basis Palme Dutt was held in the Prison de Forest in Brussels for two weeks in November. The campaign in Britain included urgent representations to Premier Vandervelde from H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw and other personalities, and finally led to a unanimous decision by the Belgian Cabinet to cancel both the prosecution and the deportation order.

It was of this period of mounting class conflict that R.P.D. wrote in his now classic Notes of the Month for January 1926 (the first half of which were in fact written in the Prison de Forest):

CLASS JUSTICE

The British bourgeoisie is teaching the Class War to the British working class. The historic trials at the Old Bailey and in South Wales, the declaration of the Communist Party as illegal, the open organisation of strike-breaking by the Government, the ugly signs of the preparation of violence against the working class, the obvious complicity of Fascism, the police and the whole State apparatus, the incitement by repeated acquittals to extended hooliganism against the whole working class movement, all these are teaching more rapidly and universally than any agitators could do the reality of the Class State and the Class Struggle. . . . The rags of British Democracy are being rent in the storm of the approaching struggle, and the nakedness of Class Violence and Class Exploitation is showing more and more clearly.

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DIVIDED CANADA*

Stanley Ryerson†

BOTH Sir Ivor Jennings and Professor Max Beloff are reported to have complained, following last August's Canadian Institute of Public Affairs conference on 'concepts of federalism', that they had been lured there under false pretences. Not the promised theme of concepts of federalism but, it turned out, the crisis in relations between French and English Canada was the real theme of the gathering. Let the learned visitors take solace: their momentary sense of being 'had' is shared without let-up by growing numbers of Canadians, who are daily told that their country's root problem is merely one of 'federal-provincial relations'—only to find out that it is something quite different and much more difficult to exorcise.

Canada, on the very eve of the centennial of Confederation, is experiencing a crisis of its state structure. The consitutional framework provided for in the British North America Act of 1867 is revealing its utter inadequacy for the realities of Canadian society. Of these, the most intractable is one concerning which the framers of the Act, with Victorian prudery, maintained an embarrassed silence. It is the reality of a French-Canadian nation, subjugated by conquest in 1760, subdued again with the putting down of the 1837 insurrection; and now today, two centuries after the Plains of Abraham, insisting on securing for itself the right of national self-determination. (It is not an accident that some months after the Separatist demonstrations against the Queen's visit to Quebec, violence erupted next in protest against the official observance of Empire Day—and that one of the monuments blasted was that commemorating General James Wolfe.)

Why the present upsurge of French-Canadian nationalism? And in what way is it different from previous ones? In the first place, the worldwide tidal movement for independence and emancipation of hitherto oppressed colonial and dependent peoples has had a significant impact on the national community on the St. Lawrence. Whereas in the thirties and forties the issue tended to be one of economic and social inequality—the struggle to alter a long-established pattern of lower wages and health and social-security standards in French-speaking Quebec as compared with neighbouring Ontario, for instance—the agitation of the sixties is focused on

*Total Population: 18·2 million (70 per cent urban). Ethnic origin: British, 43·8 per cent; French, 30·4 per cent; Other, 25·8 per cent. Mother tongue: English, 58·5 per cent (10·7 million); French, 28 per cent (5·1 million); Other, 13·5 per cent (*1961 Census*).

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the demand for a new state structure, for the right to a French-Canadian national state, either in a new confederal relationship with English Canada or through outright separation.

Not that the Quebec social and economic 'differential' has disappeared: far from it. Per capita income in Quebec is 14 per cent below the Canadian average, 27 per cent below that of Ontario. In predominantly French Quebec, the positions of command in finance and industry are held by English-Canadians while the work force is French-Canadian. The sense of being 'colonials' in a country which they settled over three centuries ago, is not assuaged by the concession of a French-speaking provincial legislature or by the fact of a profitable collaboration of the small French-Canadian élite with Anglo-Canadian and U.S. monopolists (French-Canadian capitalists have even embarked on an investment project of their own in Haiti).

The current *Revolution tranquille* (its tranquillity occasionally punctuated by detonations of dynamite) embraces two distinct though interrelated phenomena. One is a combination of movements of reform within Quebec: for modernisation of education; gradual relinquishment by the Roman Catholic Church of its control over the school system and large areas of social welfare administration; extension of public ownership (hydro-electric resources) and increased economic intervention by the Quebec state. In this process, the pressures of mass popular reform movements intersect and interact with efforts by the Quebec bourgeoisie to cultivate a state-monopoly capitalism that can reinforce their position in relation to Anglo-Canadian finance capital. The slogan *Soyons Maitres chez nous!* projects a vision of 'masters in our own house' that can be interpreted in varying terms of radicalism—or moderation.

The other related phenomenon is the mounting Quebec demand for a far-reaching change in the relations between French and English Canada. The federal state established in 1867 is today a structure in which Quebec is one of ten provinces. While all the forces making for socio-economic integration press in English Canada for greater centralism in the federal state, the corresponding forces in French Canada are working for consolidation in the 'national territory' of Quebec. A situation where the latter is 'one against nine' in inter-provincial gatherings is less and less tolerable: what is demanded is a relationship of 'one to one' as between two national communities, two nations.* The British North America

*'Nation' in the sociological (and Marxist) sense of the term, as an *ethnic community*, as distinct from the juridical meaning of a sovereign *state*.

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Act wholly obscured this underlying reality in Canadian society: only a new Canadian bi-national constitution will suffice to cope with it.

Whereas Lord Durham in 1839 had looked to the eventual absorption of the French Canadians into the dominant English 'race', a quarter-century later Sir John A. Macdonald, the outstanding 'Father of Confederation', visualised the fairly rapid disappearance of such 'local institutions' as the province of Quebec (whose assertion of ethnic identity was the prime reason for the concession of a federal, in lieu of a unitary, form of state). 'If Confederation goes on,' he wrote to a friend, 'you, if spared the ordinary age of man, will see both local parliaments and governments absorbed in the general power. This is as plain to me as if I saw it accomplished'. He could hardly have been more wrong.

In 1963 the federal Government appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into what it designated as 'bilingualism and biculturalism' and the workings of an 'equal partnership between the two founding races' [*sic*]. Its preliminary report, published last winter, gives a vivid picture (based on public 'Citizens' Forum' meetings held across the country) of confusion, frustration, cross-purposes and prejudice in English Canada; and of the crystallisation in French Canada of a mood of insistence on social structural and constitutional change. The commissioners concluded that 'Canada, without being fully conscious of the fact, is passing through the greatest crisis in its history . . . *the state of affairs established in 1867, and never since seriously challenged, is now for the first time being rejected by the French Canadians of Quebec*'. The diagnosis is the existence of a crisis which, 'if it should persist and gather momentum . . . could destroy Canada'.

Approaches that are being proposed in the search for a solution to the crisis range over a wide spectrum. They include the following:

Co-operative federalism: advocated by the governing Liberals and supported by Conservatives and right-wing Social-democrats, this formula means essentially preservation of the status quo, a continuation of the complex federal-provincial arrangements of 'opting out', 'contracting in', leasing of specific taxing powers, etc.: Quebec remains 'a province just like the others', with such limited recognition of language rights and cultural identity as the British North America Act originally sanctioned.

Separatism: withdrawal of Quebec from Canada, formation of an independent French-Canadian republic. This solution is at present

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advocated by only a small minority of Quebec—mainly students, a few clericals, ultra-Right petty-bourgeois and also some Left nationalists. But it is a variable within a much broader surge of nationalist sentiment which is insisting on a new, more equitable relationship—preferably within a newly worked-out federative or 'associate states' relationship—between the 'two Canadas'.

A new Constitution, embodying recognition of French Canada's right of national self-determination: this proposal, advocated by Canadian Communists for the past two decades,* corresponds largely with the majority sentiment in Quebec and is beginning (though very slowly) to win support in English Canada. The official labour movement has been exceedingly reluctant to face up to the bi-national reality: the deadweight of 'Anglo-Saxon' chauvinism is only reinforced by the 'Americanism' expressed in A.F.L-C.I.O. dominance of the Canadian Labour Congress; and the achievement of a clear-cut position by Labour is further limited by the sharp conflict between the C.L.C. and the former Catholic Syndicates, now the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux. The reformist New Democratic Party is edging towards acceptance of the 'bi-national' concept; but so hesitantly that a significant part of its Quebec supporters broke away to form the more nationalist-inclined Parti Socialiste du Québec. The latter participates in a new co-ordinating committee of Left groups which includes the Quebec Communists.

While recognition by English Canadians of the implications of the 'French-Canadian fact', of the reality of two nations within Canada, calls for a persistent and energetic effort on the part of all progressives, there is growing acceptance of the idea of a new Canadian Constitution based on a new relationship of equality between the two peoples.

This issue dominates the political scene as we approach the Centennial of Confederation. Its solution will involve not only a struggle for Constitutional reform, but a deepgoing shift in the 'power structure'. The rising militancy of the strike movement across Canada, the new rapprochement between Quebec students and organised Labour, the demonstration last year of some ten thousand farmers at the Quebec Legislature—all suggest that a merging of the social and national ferment is in the making. It holds the promise of the emergence of an alignment of forces that can challenge not only the British North America Act but the entire socio-economic establishment which it has served for a hundred years.

*Cf. 'Crisis of Confederation'—special issue of *The Marxist Quarterly* (No. 7) Autumn 1963, and the Autumn 1965 issue (No. 15), 'The National Question in Canada' (Progress Books, Toronto).

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STUDENT MILITANCY IN AMERICA & EUROPE

Nicola Seyd

READERS of *Labour Monthly* will have seen discussions in earlier numbers of what is happening among students in this country. The kind of contribution students can make to the efforts of the labour and progressive movements can be seen from a few experiences in three other Nato countries, Greece, the United States and France.

On Wednesday, July 1, a meeting was called by E.F.E.E. (National Union of Students of Greece) in the university area in Athens, protesting against the violation of the constitution and calling for the return of Papandreou as Prime Minister. The meeting was supported by the Lambrakis Youth Organisation and E.L.D.I.N. (the youth organisation of the Centre Union).

The police attacked the meeting in strength and forced it to disperse. The students scattered through the streets shouting slogans and re-grouped in Klafthamanos Square. The police formed up on the south side of the square and then arrived on the north side attacking the students with tear-gas bombs and driving them against the police on the south side, who then advanced beating the crowd with their truncheons. One hundred and thirty people were taken to hospital badly hurt. Most of them were still in there three days later. Participants generally agreed that the police action was more brutal even than was customary under Karamanlis. In particular, the tear-gas bombs were exploded not up-wind from, but among, the demonstrators.

It was a tear-gas bomb which caused the death of Sotiris Petroulas. The bomb exploded at his ear, causing internal hæmorrhages, while the gas and chemicals covered his face. Petroulas was one of the most successful students at the Pandeas School in Athens, roughly equivalent to the London School of Economics, and a member of his students' union committee.

The authorities made difficulties about giving back the body to his family but finally gave in. Sotiris was the twenty-sixth member of the Petroulas family to be killed either by the German occupation or in the subsequent repression. The funeral was attended by 150,000 including Papandreou and Greek T.U.C. representatives and the oration at the church was delivered by the representative of E.F.E.E.

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The civil rights movement in the United States has drawn hundreds of young people, very many of them students, into action for the first time. This has had its effect on other vital issues in which students have shown themselves ready and capable of taking decisive action.

The events of the civil rights movement itself have already received much attention in the British press. The summer projects, run by C.O.F.O. (Council of Federated Organisations—comprising the major groups in the South), last year concentrated on voter registration and culminated in a major effort in Atlantic City at the Democratic Convention for the seating of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. These summer projects brought in large numbers of northern white students to join the students from the Negro colleges all over the country as counterparts of S.N.C.C. (Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee) in the South.

In the autumn a series of one-day hunger strikes took place in many colleges.

In the spring a march being held in Selma, Alabama, was banned by the state police and it was the holding of the now famous second march, the Selma march, which again drew students in organised groups and busloads from colleges of every size and kind and from every state. Seton Hall College is a small Catholic university in New Jersey: '. . . from Seton Hall to the University of Chicago . . .' was one reporter's way of describing the variety of response.

The first big event around a different issue which was given public support by the civil rights organisations was the Peace in Vietnam march in Washington at Easter, just one month after the Selma demonstration. With a crowd of 25,000 this was the largest demonstration in Washington to oppose U.S. foreign policy.

Among the speakers was a representative of S.N.C.C. who dealt with the connection between the civil rights and the peace movements; among the demonstrators were many of the same students who had been in the voter registration and other civil rights actions. Contingents were there from *every* major college from coast to coast. From many of the smaller colleges: 'Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, had 100 out of a 700 total student body in the march and Goddard, in Plainfield, Vermont, 50 out of a total of little more than 300 enrolled. Swarthmore had 4 busloads'. The Negro Colleges: '. . . 250 from Howard, 100 from Atlanta, more than 50 from Morehouse and Virginia State'. So the reports ran.

Earlier in the spring term, sparked off by the bombing of North

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Vietnam, mass meetings were replaced by the teach-ins. The one in Michigan State University was so successful that it quickly led to others all over the country. The State Department spokesmen were ridiculed on each occasion and treated with frank disbelief by the students. At the national teach-in in Washington, which was given nationwide TV coverage, McGeorge Bundy, special adviser on foreign affairs to the President, failed to turn up and (later) pleaded an emergency trip to Santo Domingo.

In September 1964, the students at Berkeley, California, were forbidden by the university authorities to set up their stalls for collecting funds and making members for the university political clubs, on the grounds that this was not allowed inside the university. This denial of political freedom was the beginning of an epic story of student struggle.

Berkeley is one of the big universities with many flourishing political organisations and they had for the last three years set up their tables and stands on a strip of land at the entrance to the university. Upon hearing of the Dean's announcement that they would no longer be allowed even to use this piece of land, the 18 political clubs took the determined step of deliberately violating the regulation by moving their tables to a site in front of Sproul Hall, the administration building situated on the campus proper.

Eight students were promptly suspended from the University. The following day tables were again set up and when the campus police tried to arrest one of the students a crowd of 5,000 students gathered and for *thirty-two hours* prevented the police car from taking him away, insisting on his release, on the reinstatement of the eight suspended students and on the revision of the regulations. 900 police arrived armed with guns, tear-gas and three-foot truncheons but the police car was unable to move. Its roof was used as a platform for the speakers, story tellers, singers and students who read out newspaper accounts of the action while it was going on.

The police did not move in on the vast crowd, many of whom were 'veterans' of the Southern Freedom Movement but with many more who were now joining for the first time and were plainly frightened by the presence of the police. At 7 o'clock in the evening on October 2 a pact was signed by the authorities and the police went away. The students had won the first round.

The Free Speech Movement was formed to see that the fight was continued, as it soon became clear that the authorities were

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trying to wriggle out of the pact. The subsequent struggle maintained the high level achieved in that first action. It is perhaps best summarised in an article in a student journal from California which describes how F.S.M.'s action '. . . achieved a campus strike that was 82 per cent effective . . .; it achieved freedom of political activity and advocacy on the Berkeley campus; it called nationwide attention to the problems of educational reform in the United States, and it resulted in increased political awareness for thousands of students on the campuses of the University of California and thousands more across the nation'.

The strike led to the arrest of 779 students and staff and latest reports are that sentences of sixty and ninety days imprisonment have been passed for some, heavy fines for others and 120 days imprisonment for Mario Savio, the leader of the strike. Appeals are being made against the sentences and will be taken to the highest court possible, the Supreme Court, if funds permit.

The University of California was not the only place to take up the Free Speech issue, though it was probably the most dramatic. 'After all', a New York friend writes, 'it is not every day that 800 students and faculty members are arrested'!

Discussions are now in progress on the setting up of a new student union to deal with all student problems; in the last week of the academic year, something of the order of 1,000 members joined in Berkeley, with participation from universities and colleges all over the country.

For British students comparison with French students is probably of most immediate relevance.

Only 4 per cent of university students in France are of working class origin as compared with about 24 per cent in Britain. Even so, 50 per cent work part-time in term time. Under 20 per cent have scholarships and of these the greatest proportion is in the medical faculty, where the students come from wealthier families as only fairly well-to-do students can afford to undertake a course with a scholarship of only 800 to 4,000 Fr. depending on year of study and family income.

Of particular interest is the rôle of U.N.E.F. (National Union of Students of France). U.N.E.F. has close fraternal relations with the trade union movement and its conferences are addressed by the representatives of the C.G.T., F.O. and C.F.T.D. During the miners' strike in the spring of 1963 there was a two-day students' strike in solidarity, which was a hundred per cent successful in places

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like Lille near the mining districts, and also very successful elsewhere. In addition the students raised money for the strikers.

Last year there was a national student strike alongside the teachers' union, F.E.N., over salaries, conditions of work, biennial increments and expenditure on education which the C.G.T. and others say should be 25 per cent of the budget.

In December they went on strike with the university teachers during a week of action in universities, which was a partial success. Their demands were concerned with democracy in education, conditions of work and lack of buildings, teachers and scholarships.

U.N.E.F. also co-operates with other youth organisations concerned with general youth problems and played a big part in the anti-fascist struggles in France at the time of the colons' revolt in Algeria.

In Britain the labour movement cannot yet look on the organised students as allies in the same way as the French trade unions do, though the massive students' lobby of Parliament in March bears an obvious resemblance. Nor perhaps has the experience and understanding of British students led them yet to the militancy of Greek, Spanish or even United States students. But the pampered position of the small number of Oxbridge and semi-Oxbridge students is not being extended to the expanded student population of Britain's declining imperialist years. While the ruling class in Britain has shown great skill in rendering the student movement almost as harmless as the big youth movements, it is now possible that British students are moving in the direction of greater involvement along the lines of the examples given in this article. These are, after all, much more typical of actions by students in the rest of the world than is the relatively mild British student experience.

OBITUARY

THE REV. CANON STANLEY G. EVANS

We pay tribute to a valued contributor, Canon Evans, who was killed in a crash on September 11. He wrote many articles and reviews for *Labour Monthly*, from his first review in 1948 to his last article 'The Vatican Council', in 1963.

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THE CHANNEL ISLANDS UNDER NAZI OCCUPATION

Norman Le Brocq

[*The truth about the Nazi occupation of the Channel Islands, the collaboration of the official British authorities with the Nazis on the instructions of the British Government, even to the extent of enforcing anti-semitic laws, and the heroic popular resistance movement which developed with the active rôle of the Communist Party within it, and in association with anti-fascist prisoners of war, needs to be placed on record. This is the more important since the shameful pictorial account of the* Sunday Times *supplement of August 22 shocked readers by its complacent attitude to the official collaboration with nazism; maintained complete silence on the popular resistance movement; immediately after describing 'a slave camp for 18,000 foreign workers, many of whom were to die of starvation and brutality' described in the next sentence how 'in the early days of the occupation the behaviour of the soldiers was impeccable'; and presented the decision to leave the collaborators scot-free after the war with the cool statement that 'the British Government decided that there would be no trials for the collaborators, possibly to avoid the shock which would undoubtedly have been given to national pride to have admitted their existence'. Accordingly, we are proud to print this truthful record by Norman Le Brocq, Secretary of the Jersey Branch of the Communist Party, who played an honourable part in the resistance. Readers of* Soviet Weekly *will recall the article in its issue of May 15 'Saved by the People of Jersey' by Oleg Orestov, in which he described how 'dozens of ordinary unassuming people in those dark years bravely befriended and helped the prisoners in the German slave camps' and pays tribute specifically to Dr. Robert McKinstry, Leslie Huelin, Edmund Blampied, Augusta Metcalfe, Norman Le Brocq, Leonard Perkins and many others as 'people who in time of danger thought of others not of themselves—people of noble character and courage'.—Ed.*, L.M.]

THE British Press—particularly the Sundays—have celebrated the twentieth anniversary of victory over the Nazis with distorted stories of the occupation of the Channel Islands by Hitler's troops. Distorted because the British capitalist establishment can get no joy from the reality of this occupation of British territory. However the working class movement is in a different position.

The Channel Islands are a small group of islands with a population of about 120,000. They are in theory self-governing; but in practice a Privy Council right of veto is translated into a great deal of 'advice' from the Home Office. Until the second world war the islands had remained semi-feudal though with growing links with British business concerns. The island governments (States Assemblies) were a hotch-potch of nominated members, court officials,

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Church of England rectors and elected Deputies. There was little real political activity with no political parties, although unsuccessful attempts had been made to establish a Labour Party both in the nineteen twenties and thirties. Even trade unions had only existed since the end of the first world war and were in fact illegal under anti-combination acts up to 1938. Industry was almost non-existent apart from small workshops. However, the heavy exploitation of the working people was acting as a leaven. A Jerseyman returning from Australia, Leslie Huelin, formed a Branch of the Communist Party in 1939 which began to conduct some activity.

The months of the 'phoney war' made little impact on the islands; things appeared to be following the course of the previous war as far as the islands were concerned. Then, the only real impact had been the casualty lists—the war itself had seemed a long way away. Then came Dunkirk and the collapse of France. At first this brought a flurry of military activity in the islands, which only later was seen to be a cover for the evacuation via the islands of British stragglers and Free French groups. Then came the clear sound of gunfire from the French coast and our first taste of bombing.

The islands were evacuated by the troops and declared undefended. Followed a week of chaos with some thousands of Channel Islanders leaving their homes for Britain in whatever ships were made available. A letter was sent to the Bailiffs of the Islands from the Home Office telling them 'it is desired by His Majesty's Government that the Bailiff . . . should stay at his post and administer the government of the island to the best of his ability in the interest of the inhabitants. The Crown Officers also should remain at their posts'. This letter was used later by the island authorities to justify all their subsequent actions which even included rewards advertised for information about anti-German activities, enforcement of the Nazi anti-semitic laws, co-operation in the deportation of British residents and so on. This letter may have been one of the factors inhibiting Herbert Morrison, then Home Secretary, when he visited the islands soon after liberation and declared in a speech in Jersey's Royal Square that while there may have been irregularities in the actions of the island governments during the occupation he did not propose to go further into the matter.

The Luftwaffe occupied Guernsey on June 30, 1940, and Jersey on July 1. The smaller islands were subsequently taken over, and a military commandatura set up. The attitude of the local authorities was to show co-operation. In Jersey, Coutanche, the Bailiff (now

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Lord Coutanche) and Duret-Aubin, Attorney General, met Luftwaffe officers at the airport with handshakes and smiles. This meeting was photographed by German officers and used amongst other material as propaganda to show how well they had been received.

In September 1940 a regular occupation régime was set up. Feld Kommandatur 515 was set up with offices in each island. FK 515 was responsible to the German Military Administration in North-West France, but given special powers to deal with the differences between France and these British islands. The civilian government departments were left in being, but parallel German military departments were set up to supervise them. The States Assemblies were 'frozen', *i.e.*, no new elections for the duration. All democratic organisations—the trade unions, etc.—were banned. Military matters were in the hands of the commanding officer of the 319th Division—the garrison force. Policing of the islands was carried out jointly by the States police and German Feld Gendarmerie. A unit of the military Gestapo and a military court were also set up alongside the local Courts. The two local newspapers continued under their existing management but with German censors, and published Nazi propaganda and proclamations throughout the occupation.

In what follows, I must deal mainly with Jersey, the island where I spent the occupation, though events in the other islands followed a similar pattern. At first the population were stunned by events. Wars and military occupation were things that happened to other people—not on our own doorstep. Although the islands have a stirring history, there was no recent tradition of political activity or understanding. The major trade union body, a district committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union, met just before the arrival of the Nazis and dissolved itself with one honourable vote against, that of Cliff Tucker. The small Communist Party ceased to exist. Soon there were savage cuts in wages. The economy of the island started to disintegrate. The States were soon to be seen as mere rubber-stamps for German decrees. An anecdote was told to me later by a German soldier. He had been an orderly in a building party used by the local administration and partly by German officials. The German officers, he said, developed a pastime of summoning a local official by buzzer and timing him to see how often he could break his record in rushing to their office.

During the winter of 1940-41 came the beginnings of anger against this spineless attitude of the local officials. A few illegal discussion groups started to meet to discuss the situation, and anger was

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focused against the States. In 1941 two organisations, the Jersey People's Progressive Party and the Jersey Democratic Party were issuing typed discussion statements calling for a completely new constitution after the war. Communists in these organisations helped in the forming of a united group during 1942—the Jersey Democratic Movement. Somewhat later, the Jersey Communist Party was reconstituted with three aims: to swing the J.D.M. on to more militant lines, to resurrect the T. & G.W.U. on an illegal basis, and to find ways of organising resistance to the Nazis. This Communist Party had but five members then, but grew to seventeen by the end of the occupation. It managed to obtain a duplicating machine and supplies of paper, stencils and ink—replenished from time to time from local and German offices—and started to produce leaflets for the J.D.M. and the illegal trade union committee.

In many ways 1942 was a turning point. German fears of invasion started the construction of the 'Atlantic Wall' defences around the coast of Brittany of which our islands were a part. People began to be arrested for the possession of radio sets and for passing on typed B.B.C. news bulletins. By 1943 the garrison had been strengthened and something like 15,000 foreign slave workers—Spanish republicans, Soviet prisoners and civilians, French, Algerians, Poles and many others, had been brought to Jersey to work on the concrete defences. A number of islanders were imprisoned locally or sent away to France for various offences—or merely for being Jews. Some ended in concentration camps in Germany. Alderney itself had been turned into a concentration camp.

The treatment of the Soviet prisoners in particular was horrifying. Several escaped from the camps and were hidden by local people at the risk of their lives. Heroic people like Mrs. Louise Gould and her brother Harold Le Druillenec, farmer René Le Mottée, the Garrett family, two women of Russian origin, Mrs. Augusta Metcalfe and her sister Claudia, Mr. and Mrs. Forster and many others had Soviet escapees in their homes for months. Mrs. Louise Gould was caught and died in Ravensbruck as a result and Harold Le Druillenec was a survivor of Belsen.

During 1944 some organised help was created by the Jersey communists for Soviet escapees. Les Huelin—the Party's secretary —and Dr. McKinstry, Jersey's Medical Officer of Health, worked together to arrange collections of food and clothing and to ensure medical attention, and in some cases identity cards.

The invasion of Europe brought fresh hope and activity amongst

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the several groups of people working against the Nazis and the local administration. However, as France was liberated and our islands were left in a state of siege, disappointment took over and the year between D-day and our liberation was the most bitter as well as the most hungry of the occupation. The J.D.M. won wide support

SOVIET GOVERNMENT EXPRESSES GRATITUDE TO JERSEYMEN

The Praesidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government approached the Government of Britain with a request to convey the sincere gratitude of the Praesidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government to the following British subjects, who displayed courage and valour in saving Soviet citizens and prisoners of war on the Island of Jersey and rendered them assistance in the period of the joint struggle against German fascism in the years of World War II:

1. *Harold Le Druillenec*
2. *Norman Le Brocq*
3. *Leslie Huelin*
4. *Augusta Metcalfe*
5. *Rene Le Motte*
6. *Oswald Pallot*
7. *Leonard Perkins*
8. *William Sarre*
9. *Robert Le Sueur*
10. *Iv. Forster*
11. *Albert Bidane*
12. *Claudia Dimitrieva*
13. *Mike Le Cornu*
14. *Rene Franoux*
15. *Francis Hamon*
16. *John Le Breton*
17. *Royston Garrett*
18. *Francis Le Sueur*

and also the relatives of the deceased Louise Gould and Robert McKinstry.

The British Embassy in Moscow announced to the above mentioned British subjects the gratitude of the Praesidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government.

(Novosti Press Agency, *September 16, 1965.*)

through its campaign of leaflets exposing injustice and preaching democracy. The illegal T. & G.W.U. committee won the allegiance of hundreds of workers and had good organisation on many jobs. The Communist Party, though still very small, was a big influence in both these bodies and remained the provider of duplicating facilities. But it was now also involved in other work that brought hopes of decisive results. In the summer of 1944 Les Huelin and myself had made contact with Paul Muelbach, a German soldier who was acting on behalf of a group of German anti-fascists. This meeting was the start of a joint campaign involving German soldiers, the local Communist Party and its supporters, and a number of

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foreign workers, to break down the morale of the garrison and organise a mutiny. While the latter objective was overtaken by events, the former was certainly achieved. Leaflets—with the slogan 'Death to the Nazis—long live a free Germany' made their impact.

So although the attitude of the island authorities during this period may cause a mealy-mouthed approach to the history of the occupation years in official circles, the British working class movement can proclaim the truth of its rôle in the European struggle against Nazi occupation with pride, even if, of necessity, its part was but a minor episode in the general story of resistance.

BRITISH LABOUR IN MARX'S DAY

Andrew Rothstein

DURING the years 1861-1881—when the last Chartist agitation had died away, while the first Socialist organisation in the modern sense, the Social-Democratic Federation, had yet to be born—the trade union movement was slowly growing, and so was the demand among the workers for the vote and for representation in Parliament. Royden Harrison has written a series of studies* on these twenty years, which break a great deal of new ground. In his first chapter he gives a general survey of the changing nature of trade unionism in this period—particularly of the emergence of an aristocracy of skilled workers, whose trade union leaders the bigger and more forward-looking employers 'cultivated' (pp. 37-39).

In a later chapter, he deals at length with the many struggles of 1866-7 which produced the second Reform Bill, admitting a section of the workers to the vote, and with the worried discussions among politicians and in the press to which these struggles gave rise. There is much food for thought in his account—particularly in his conclusion that both enlightened bourgeois parliamentarians and the Liberal trade unionists who headed the Reform League alike wanted the franchise extended only to 'registered and residential' voters, which meant in practice the labour aristocracy, already relatively well organised. Here and there the author, in his apparent anxiety not to be regarded as 'dogmatic,' seems to exaggerate (pp. 130-135) the special features of *British* political life which made that particular concession possible (the second Reform Bill came only a few years after the Russian autocrat, Alexander II, in very un-British conditions, had told his fellow-landowners—among whom there

**Before the Socialists*, Royden Harrison. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 370 pp. 55s.

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were also divided opinions—that it was 'better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until it begins abolishing itself from below').

Harrison is led, too, into dismissing as 'tall talk' Marx's letter to Engels (on May 1, 1865) describing the part played by the International Working Men's Association in launching the Reform League (pp. 124-5). In reality, the minutes of the General Council itself show Cremer—who, with Odger, Wheeler and other trade unionists, had formed a 'Trade Unions Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association' in 1863—raising the question 'that the Council deem it desirable to agitate for the complete suffrage' (December 29, 1864); then, on an approach from organisers of a meeting for manhood suffrage (actually by the middle-class Positivist, Edmond Beales), the Council appointing an influential deputation to attend it (January 31, 1865); later, in response to a formal invitation from Beales, the Council deciding 'that no measure short of manhood suffrage would receive the support of the Council' (February 21)—a decision reiterated for the Manchester Reform Conference (March 21). In fact six out of the twelve members of the executive committee of the Reform League (Odger, Cremer, Howell, Eccarius, Leno and Nieass) were members of the General Council. It is rather far-fetched in these circumstances to suggest that these 'happened to belong' to the I.W.M.A. And in all the discussions Marx played an active part, as is shown by his correspondence with Engels, Ernest Jones and Kugelmann, and also by the minutes.

In his chapter, 'The Reform League and the General Election of 1868'—the first election after the Reform Act of 1867—Harrison produces a massive account of how the wealthy Liberals cashed in on the compromise between themselves and the upper section of the workers. Documents which have never seen the light before are drawn upon to show, beyond all question, that—as Marx said at the Hague Congress of the I.W.M.A. in 1872—'almost all' the recognised English labour leaders were sold to the leaders of the Liberals, Gladstone and Morley. Harrison rightly underlines that their agreements, engineered by George Howell, 'marked the real beginning of the Lib-Lab era in working-class politics' (p. 209).

The next two chapters, on the English Republicans of the seventies and, particularly, that on the English Positivists—middle-class Radicals who played an energetic and often a devoted part during these years in assisting the trade unions—are full of original and important material, too abundant to quote (but showing, convincingly, by the way, why their most outstanding and courageous figure, Professor Edward Spencer Beesly, enjoyed the admiration

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and the lasting friendship of Marx). Harrison touches also on the later effects of their activity, especially their influence on the first English Socialists who succeeded them in the '90s—sufficiently to suggest how what had been 'positive' (in the ordinary sense) became with the passage of time 'negative'.

Unquestionably, Harrison's book adds considerably to our knowledge of British working-class history in these twenty years.

One chapter, 'British Labour and American Slavery', calls for somewhat more detailed comment. It begins with a summary of 'the mythology of Anglo-American relations during the Civil War' (p. 42), quoting a number of writers—among them Marx—who claim that the British working class stood by the North from first to last, *i.e.*, from 1861 to 1865. Harrison then goes on to demonstrate, with much interesting and little-known detail, that (i) some trade union leaders like Dunning (Bookbinders), Leno (Shoemakers) and others were constantly pro-South, and (ii) that most of the press catering specifically for the workers, and particularly *Reynolds*, carried on violent pro-South propaganda, contrary (he says) to 'the hitherto accepted belief' (p. 46). It was only after President Lincoln in September 1862, nearly eighteen months after the Civil War began, issued his proclamation abolishing slavery, says Harrison, that there appeared 'overwhelming evidence showing that the great majority of politically conscious workers were pro-North' (p. 65). And therefore, we are led to infer, Marx was exaggerating when he wrote in the Inaugural Address that the British workers averted war.

In reality, no one has ever disputed—least of all Marx—that many trade union leaders were pro-South in their sympathies, and the author himself can only quote present-day (and non-Marxist) writers for assertions that the workers' press was pro-North. Marx, in particular, was denouncing *Reynolds* in an article for the *New York Daily Tribune*, as early as January 11, 1862 (another example is mentioned later). This was soon after the Liberal leader John Bright, in a letter to Charles Sumner, chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee (November 20, 1861), had also written that, in contrast to the attitude of the middle and upper classes, 'the sympathies of the great body of the people here are, I think, quite right—*though some papers supposed to be read by them are wrong*' (Trevelyan, *Life of John Bright*, 1913, p. 312).

But neither the Liberals nor Marx—and they, after all, were living through this hard time—had any doubt about where the mass of the people stood—even at the height of the conflict over the

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seizure of the Southern emissaries, Mason and Slidell, by a U.S. sloop (which stopped the British mail steamer 'Trent', on which they were travelling). It was soon after the arrest that Bright's colleague, Cobden, wrote to Sumner (December 19, 1861): 'Of course all privileged classes and aristocracies hate your institutions—that is natural enough; but the mass of the people never went with the South'. Marx wrote a few days later to the Vienna *Die Presse* (December 25): 'At the present time war against America is as unpopular among all sections of the people . . . as the bellicose roar of the press is deafening'. And in the article of January 11, 1862, already quoted, Marx wrote confidently that, throughout the conflict over the 'Trent', the working class of England at any rate did not once abandon the Northern cause.

Perhaps this was an optical illusion, on the part of the Liberal leaders and Marx alike? It should be noted that during the 'bullyin' clack', as the American poet Russell Lowell called it, of the British press in December 1861, Palmerston's Government 'acted from the first as if an instant appeal to arms was necessary' (Justin McCarthy wrote in his *Short History of Our Own Times*) and the two countries 'drifted . . . perilously near to war' (Spencer Walpole, *History of Twenty-Five Years*). Royden Harrison does not refer to this real war scare at all, dismissing the incident in three words as 'the *Trent* affair' (pp. 47, 53): yet this, if anything, could have been expected to swing working-class opinion against the North. Finally the United States gave way, setting free the rebel emissaries—which again simple-minded people might easily have taken to be a success for the Government's ultimatum. But Lord Malmesbury, the Tory ex-Foreign Secretary, wrote in his diary for January 30, 1862: 'Messrs. Slidell and Mason arrived at Southampton yesterday. A crowd collected to see them land, but not a single person cheered'.

Why not? Marx's articles contain some brief indications. At the beginning of October 1861—before the 'Trent' affair—W. E. Forster, Liberal M.P. for Bradford, had successfully defended the Northern cause at a meeting in the Mechanics' Institute there. In December, when the newspapers were raging, the local M.P.s, William Coningham and James White, attended a meeting at Brighton called by local workers, denounced the threats to America and supported a resolution declaring that war would be condemned by the entire British people. In the same article of January 11, Marx wrote that mass meetings in various parts of the country were protesting against the press attacks on the North—he instanced meetings at Paddington and at Newcastle-on-Tyne—and quoted an

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outraged admission by *The Times* that Mason and Slidell might be 'welcomed' on their arrival as Barclay and Perkins' draymen had greeted General Haynau (flogger of women) in September 1850. A public meeting in Northampton, addressed by its M.P., called a few days later for demonstrations all over the country against recognition of the slaveowners' government of the South—which the press, emboldened by success over the 'Trent', was demanding. On January 27, 1862, Marx reported a meeting in Marylebone the previous evening, which denounced the slaveowners, warned the Government not to recognise their independence, declared its full support for the United States and branded with infamy *The Times* and other newspapers which were trying to drag Britain into war. At the very same time the *Economist*, which had been particularly vile in its pro-South campaign, admitted that the mass of the people were 'not yet prepared' for British intervention.

It was a little while after this that on April 28, 1862, in a letter to Lassalle, Marx wrote: 'The British bourgeoisie (and aristocracy) have *never* behaved more disgracefully than in that great struggle which is proceeding on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. And on the contrary the British working class, which is suffering most of all from the *bellum civile*, has never behaved more heroically and more nobly. One is amazed all the more if (as I do) one knows all the methods which were used here and in Manchester to incite the workers to some demonstration. The only big organ which they still possess—the 'Newspaper' of the mercenary scoundrel Reynolds—has been bought by the Southerners just like the most influential of their instructors. But all in vain!' (*Collected Works*, Russian edn., vol. 30, 1963, p. 513).

All this was *before* Lincoln's proclamation—long before. A careful study of the local press might well expand the list. Whether any of these meetings fall within the five in 1862 recorded by the historian of the Civil War to whom Royden Harrison refers (p. 65), I do not know. One thing is certain—that the British 'national' press has always been past master in the art of saying nothing about expressions of opinion by the working class—and then, when 'pressure from without' by the workers (Marx deeply appreciated the phrase) gets too strong, turning round and saying: 'Why hammer at an open door?' So it may be any time today (providing the revolt against the American outrages in Vietnam becomes strong enough) so it was when Lloyd George and Churchill were planning a new war on Russia in 1920, so it was in all probability in 1861-2.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Third World

Peter Worsley
Weidenfeld & Nicholson. 308 pp. 36s.

No political writer today can ignore the impact of the sixty new states which won their independence during the past two decades. Their further advance towards complete liberation (some of them even setting socialist aims) serves to undermine the position of imperialism. Within the General Assembly of the United Nations their spokesmen give strong expression to the rising upsurge of liberation movements throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The author of this book recognises this new important factor, but gives the idea that these countries constitute some kind of 'third world' which has completely different laws of economic, social and political development from that of either the capitalist or the socialist world. He is critical of imperialism, but is equally anxious to keep aloof from any suspicion of being too friendly with the socialist countries.

Like so many ex-Communists who try to justify their new-found 'freedom' the author has conjured a new 'revolutionary' theory which presents the peasantry as the main leading force of revolution in modern times. The Marxist view that the working class is the most homogeneous class force, and therefore leads the alliance with other oppressed classes, is demolished (in his view) in two sentences: 'Theoretical dogma was swept aside in revolutionary practice. After the celebrated "Long March" to Yenan, Chinese Communism consolidated itself in a remote rural area, not in exposed positions in the cities'. (p. 95). Not a word about the many thousand revolutionary workers who formed the main core of the alliance with the peasantry, the main cadre force in the 'Long March', in creating the new industries in the 'remote area', and teaching peasants to become skilled workers. Nor does the author seem to know that the Chinese revolutionary armed forces marched back to capture the cities, without which socialism could not advance in China.

There is really nothing new in these ideas. The author himself reveals his great love for the 'Russian Populists' (Narodniks), and that a 'new populism *could* become the source of a revived humanist internationalism'. Throughout the whole book there is no attempt at a thorough analysis of the peasantry (as was done by Lenin, and later by Mao Tse Tung) and the peasant masses are presented as a uniform revolutionary force. This is the world of dreamers not of political realists.

Idris Cox.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

During the chairman's speech . . . he said . . . 'This Movement of ours has learned many lessons during these years of reaction engineered by the employers, and one of the lessons is that a militant and progressive policy consistently and steadily pursued is the only policy that will unite, consolidate, and inspire our rank and file'. . . . The roar of approval that greeted these sentiments indicated the rising temper of the workers. . . . There is now the greatest opportunity in our history for those leaders claiming to be Left-wingers to come out boldly . . . they must do this, or they too will be forced to take up a position no different from that of the Right Wing.

(From 'The Scarborough Conference' by Harry Pollitt, *Labour Monthly*, October 1925.)

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PUTTING IT IN PERSPECTIVE

TAKING a long, hard stare at the Government's record during the past year is indeed looking back in anger. Those who voted a Labour Government into power because they hoped for a socialist approach to major issues after years of Tory rule, must be heartsick at the present situation. Vietnam, the White Paper on Immigration and their attitude on wages and conditions demonstrate clearly where the Government stands at the moment—on foreign affairs cap-in-hand behind the U.S. Government and on the home front lined up with anti-working class elements.

Many readers have written along these lines: 'I believed in this Labour Government', writes a Kent reader, 'so perhaps I feel all the more bitterly disappointed. Without *L.M.* to put the position in perspective I would be in a very confused state just now'. This point was echoed by a Yorkshire friend thanking us for 'the reconstruction job done—*L.M.*'s logical survey of the scene has given me a sense of proportion again. I realise how hard we must fight to get the Government to adopt socialist policies'.

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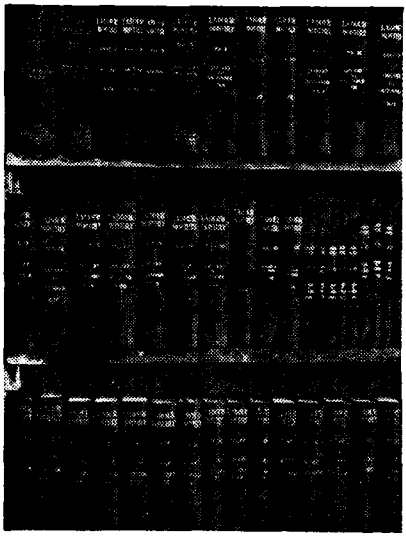

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